REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY

APPOINTED TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE

TREASONABLE PAPERS,

&c.

BRITISH MUSEUM

H. Ireland Commons House of

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY,

APPOINTED TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE

TREASONABLE PAPERS

PRESENTED TO THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS OF IRELAND,

ON THE TWENTY-NINTH OF APRIL LAST.

Reported 10th May 1797,

By the Right Hon. Mr. SECRETARY PELHAM.

To which is added,

A CHARGE TO THE GRAND JURY

OF THE

COUNTY OF DUBLIN,

By ROBERT DAY, Esq.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

REPORT

FROM THE

COMMITTEE OF SECRECY.

MR. SPEAKER,

The Committee of Secrecy, appointed to take into conſideration the Papers preſented to the Houſe on the twenty-ninth day of April laſt by the Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Pelham, have directed me to report as follows:

YOUR Committee, having taken into their conſideration the papers referred to them, have thought it conſiſtent with their duty to carry their inquiries back to the period of the commencement of the ſocieties ſtiling themſelves United Iriſhmen.

It appears, that ſoon after the French Revolution, certain individuals, encouraged by the example of France, aimed at the overthrow of the exiſting laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, and

the eſtabliſhment of a republic unconnected with Great Britain; that they have been encouraged to proceed to this attempt by an expectation of aid from France, and the co-operation of certain diſaffected and ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain entertaining ſimilar views.

It appears to your Committee, that their hopes of ſucceſs in this apparently improbable deſign are derived from their expectations of being able to infuſe into the minds of the lower orders of the people an idea that they are in a ſtate of oppreſſion and miſery: that the King, the Houſes of Lords and Commons, with the magiſtracy, clergy, and gentry of the country, are the cauſe of their oppreſſion: that the ſociety of United Iriſhmen are their ſole protectors and defenders; and that the connection between Great Britain and Ireland is inconſiſtent with the happineſs and independence of this kingdom.

It appears to your Committee, that to effect their purpoſes they have organized with great addreſs, and ſupported with equal activity, a ſyſtem plauſible in its name, and which, by a combination of certain ſpecious propoſitions with principles deſtructive of the laws and conſtitution of this kingdom, leads in a manner the moſt inſidious to anarchy, confiſcation of property, and the extermination of its proprietors.

It appears to your Committee, that in the original formation of this ſociety, its authors, to avoid alarming the feelings of thoſe who were not prepared at once to go to the full extent of their dangerous and traitorous deſigns, held forth Catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform as the oſtenſible objects of their union: but their real purpoſes were to ſeparate Great Britain from Ireland, and to ſubvert the preſent conſtitution, as will

will appear more fully from the following explanation given by Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the original framers of the inſtitution (Appendix, No. I.), in a letter addreſſed to his friends at Belfaſt, and containing the reſolutions and declarations upon which the inſtitution was formed:

"The foregoing contain my true and ſincere "opinion of the ſtate of this country, ſo far as "in the preſent juncture it may be adviſeable to "publiſh it. They certainly fall ſhort of the "truth, but truth itſelf muſt ſometimes conde-"ſcend to temporize; my unalterable opinion is, "that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the in-"fluence of England; I believe that influence "will ever be extended while the connection be-"tween the two countries continues: neverthe-"leſs, as I know that opinion is for the preſent "too hardy, though a very little time may "eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not made it a "part of the reſolutions; I have only propoſed "to ſet up a reformed Parliament as a barrier "againſt that miſchief which every honeſt man "that will open his eyes muſt ſee in every in-"ſtance overbears the intereſt of Ireland: I have "not ſaid one word that looks like a wiſh for ſe-"paration, though I give it to you and your "friends as my moſt decided opinion, that ſuch an "event would be a regeneration to this coun-"try.

"I have, you will ſee, alluded to the reſolu-"tions of the Whig Club, and I have differed "with them in degree only, that is, I think, "and I am ſure, they do not go far enough; "they are not ſincere friends to the popular "cauſe; they dread the people as much as the "Caſtle does; it may be objected, that an im-"plied difference of ſentiment between them and

"the

" the people will weaken both: I think other-
" wiſe; if they do not join you in ſupporting a
" reform in Parliament, they do not deſerve
" ſupport themſelves: apply the touchſtone, if
" they ſtand the trial, well; if they fail, they are
" falſe and hollow, and the ſooner they are de-
" tected the better: what ſignifies peddling with
" their ſuperficial meaſures? They are good ſo
" far as they go, but for the people to ſpend
" their ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch would be juſt
" as wiſe as for a man who has a mortification in
" his bowels to be very ſolicitous about a plaſter
" for his ſore finger. To be candid; I dare
" ſay that my Lord Charlemont, and I am pretty
" ſure that Mr. Grattan, would heſitate very
" much at the reſolutions which I ſend; but I
" only beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect for
" great names: read over the reſolutions, and
" what I have now ſaid, and then determine
" impartially between us. I have alluded to the
" Catholics, but ſo remotely as I hope not to
" alarm the moſt cautious Proteſtant: it is
" wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ire-
" land, in which they ſhall not have their due
" ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very
" far indeed to what I conſider as vulgar and
" ignorant prejudices. Look at France and
" America; the Pope burnt in effigy at Paris;
" the Engliſh Catholics at this very hour ſeced-
" ing from his church. A thouſand arguments
" crowd on me, but it is unneceſſary here to dwell
" on them. I hope you will find this reſolution
" ſufficiently guarded and cool. I have been
" purpoſely vague and indefinite; and I muſt
" ſay, men who would ſeek a reform, and omit
" that indiſpenſable ſtep, have different notions

" both

" both of expediency and juſtice from any that I " can conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing " them will be on the 14th of July; I learn " there is to be a commemoration of the French " revolution, that morning ſtar of liberty to Ire- " land. The volunteers, if they approved of " the plan, may then adopt it, and I have ſo " worded it as to leave them an opportunity. I " have left, as you ſee, a blank for the name."

It appears, (Appendix, No. II.) that a ſociety, calling themſelves a ſociety of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, did, on the 9th day of November, 1791, take as their declaration that of a ſimilar ſociety in Belfaſt, which nearly correſponds with the plan of Mr. Tone, with the addition of a teſt to be taken by the members.

It appears, that this ſociety did actually meet and correſpond with certain ſeditious ſocieties in Great Britain, and in furtherance of their deſigns of ſeparating the kingdoms and alienating the minds of his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, did repreſent, in different publications, the connection as oppreſſive and tyrannical.

Your Committee then directed their inquiries to the means by which the papers referred to them in conſequence of the Lord Lieutenant's meſſage had been procured; and, in order the better to aſcertain the credit to be given to their contents, they examined the perſons by whom they had been taken, from whence it appears, that, upon information being given of certain ſocieties or committees being appointed to aſſemble at the houſe of John Alexander, in the town of Belfaſt, at the hour of eight o'clock on Friday the 14th of April laſt, Colonel Barber, with a detachment of

the army, went to the ſaid houſe, where two ſocieties were then actually ſitting.

Mr. Fox, ſtore-keeper of the ordnance, under the direction of Colonel Barber, entered one of the rooms in which one of the committees or ſocieties was ſitting, with their papers before them, round a table, and their ſecretary, in the chair; and it appears, in the minute-book, that the ſociety had adjourned from the 9th to the 14th of April, the day on which they were arreſted, to ſit at the ſaid houſe.

Lieutenant Elliſon, of the artillery, entered another room in the ſame houſe, where another committee was ſitting; the papers belonging to that committee or ſociety were in the hat of a perſon who ſat at the head of the table, and appears from the papers to have been the ſecretary of that ſociety.

At the ſame time Mr. Atkinſon, high conſtable of Belfaſt, found concealed, in another room of the ſame houſe, papers purporting to belong to another committee or ſociety, viz. the eightieth ſociety.

Theſe papers conſiſt of,

1. The printed declaration and conſtitution of the United Iriſhmen.

2. Minutes of the proceedings of two of the ſocieties.

3. Reports from provincial and county committees.

4. A report from the military committee.

5. Forms of the oath of an officer and of a ſoldier.

6. Names of ſome of the ſociety, with the arms that they poſſeſs.

7. Size

7. Size roll of the ſociety.

8. A liſt of the families that have received relief.

9. Reſolutions of the united ſocieties of Donoghadee and its vicinity.

10. Other looſe notes and papers of their proceedings.

It appears to your Committee, that the declaration is the ſame as that adopted by the United Iriſhmen in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-one, and the conſtitution formed upon the principles recommended in an addreſs of the ſociety of the United Iriſhmen in Dublin to the Iriſh nation, William Drennan in the chair, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan, ſecretary; in which it is ſtated, "Truſt as little to your friends as to "your enemies in a matter where you can act "only by yourſelves; the will of the nation muſt "be declared before any reform ought to take "place; it is not therefore any claſs, however "numerous; any ſociety, however reſpectable; any "ſubaltern aſſembly, that have either right or "competency to expreſs that authoritative will; "nothing leſs than the people can ſpeak for the "people; this competency reſides not in a few "freeholders ſhivering in the corner of a county "hall, but only in the whole community repre-"ſented in each county (as at preſent in Antrim) "by parochial delegation, and then from each "county by baronial delegation, to provincial "conventions, the union of which muſt form "the awful will of the people of Ireland."

The conſtitution is as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

1ſt. This ſociety is conſtituted for the purpoſe of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a com-

munion of rights, and an union of power among Iriſhmen of every religious perſuaſion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform in the legiſlature, founded on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty.

2d. The members of this ſociety ſhall either be ordinary or honorary, and ſhall not be limited to any deſcription of men, but to extend to all perſons who may be deemed eltgible.

3d. Every candidate for admiſſion into this ſociety ſhall be propoſed by one member and ſeconded by another, both of whom ſhall vouch for his character and principles, and whoſe name ſhall be entered on the books of the ſociety; the candidate to be ballotted for on the ſociety's ſubſequent meeting; and if one of the beans be black, he ſhall ſtand rejected.

4th. As a fund is neceſſary the better to carry into effect the purpoſe of this aſſociation, each member on his admiſſion ſhall pay to the ſociety the ſum of and per month while he ſhall continue a member.

5th. The officers of this ſociety ſhall be a ſecretary and treaſurer, who ſhall be appointed by ballot every three months, viz. on every firſt meeting in November, February, May, and Auguſt.

6th. This ſociety, in manner aforeſaid, ſhall appoint two members, who, with the ſecretary, ſhall act for the ſociety in a baronial committee, which members ſhall receive on each night of their attendance on ſaid committee.

7th. This ſociety ſhall in manner aforeſaid appoint members, who, with the treaſurer, ſhall form a committee of finance, &c.

8th. At the requeſt of either committees, or any members ſigning a requiſition, the ſecretary,

ſecretary, or, if he ſhall be abſent, the treaſurer, ſhall call an extra meeting of the ſociety.

9th. This ſociety ſhall meet in ordinary every ſecond . evening at . o'clock; the preſident to be choſen by a majority of the members preſent of whom ſhall be a quorum.

10th. Every reſpect and deference ſhall be paid to the chairman. On his riſing from his ſeat and taking off his hat, there ſhall be ſilence and the members ſeated. He ſhall be judge of order and propriety; ſhall grant leave of abſence at pleaſure; ſhall not enter into debate. If any member behave improperly he is empowered to direct an apology, or, if refractory, fine him in any ſum not exceeding and on refuſal to do as directed, he ſhall therefore be expelled the ſociety for

11th. No member ſhall ſpeak more than twice, to one queſtion, without leave from the chairman.

12th. Every perſon elected a member of this ſociety, whether ordinary or honorary, ſhall, previous to his admiſſion, take the following *Teſt* in a ſeparate apartment, in preſence of the perſons who propoſed and ſeconded him, and one member appointed by the chairman; or, in caſe of abſence of one of the two perſons, the chairman ſhall appoint another member to act for the abſentee; after which the new member ſhall be brought into the body of the ſociety, and there take the teſt in the uſual form.

TEST.

In the awful preſence of God.

I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will perſevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood

of affection among IRISHMEN of *every* religious perſuaſion; and that I will alſo perſevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate, repreſentation of *all* the people of Ireland.

I do further declare, that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or puniſhments, ſhall ever induce me, directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence againſt any member or members of this or ſimilar ſocieties, for any act or expreſſion of theirs, done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this ſociety, in purſuance of the ſpirit of this obligation.

13th. A member of any other acknowledged ſociety, being introduced to this ſociety by a member, ſhall, upon producing a certificate, ſigned by the ſecretary, and ſealed with the ſeal of the ſociety to which he may belong, and taking the foregoing teſt, be admitted to attend the ſittings of this ſociety.

14th. No member ſhall have a certificate but by applying to the committee, who ſhall not grant it unleſs the member is leaving his place of reſidence, which certificate ſhall be lodged with the ſecretary on his return.

15th. When this ſociety ſhall amount to the number of thirty-ſix members, it ſhall be equally divided by lot;* that is, the names of all the members ſhall be put into a hat or box; the ſecretary or treaſurer ſhall draw out eighteen individually, which eighteen ſhall be conſidered the ſenior ſociety, and the remaining eighteen the junior, who ſhall apply to the baronial committee, through the delegates of the ſenior ſociety, for a number, and that this diviſion ſhall take place

* Societies in country places to divide as may beſt ſuit their local ſituation.

only

only in the months of October, January, April, and July.—The fund ſhall alſo be equally divided.

16th. That no ſociety ſhall be recogniſed by any committee, unleſs approving of and taking the teſt, and amounting in number to ſeven members.

Order of Buſineſs at Meetings.

1ſt. New members read declaration and teſt, during which ſubſcriptions to be collected.

2d. New members take the teſt, all members ſtanding and uncovered.

3d. Minutes of preceding meeting read.

4th. Reports of committees received.

5th. Communications called for.

6th. Candidates ballotted for.

7th. Candidates propoſed.

8th. Motions made and determined.

9th. Place and time of next meeting appointed.

CONSTITUTION of COMMITTEES,

As adopted the 10th of May.

Baronial Committees.

1ſt. When any barony or other diſtrict ſhall contain three or more ſocieties, three perſons from each ſhall be elected by ballot, conformable to the ſixth article, to form a baronial committee (for three months): their names to be returned to the ſecretary of the ſenior ſociety, who ſhall requeſt a deputation from the neareſt baronial committee to conſtitute a committee for the ſaid barony or other diſtrict.

2d. When

2d. When any barony or diſtrict ſhall contain eight ſocieties, they may form another committee, to be called the ſecond committee of ſaid barony or diſtrict, provided each contains three or more ſocieties.

3d. Baronial committees ſhall receive delegates from ſocieties of a contiguous barony, provided ſaid barony do not contain three ſocieties.

4th. That the baronial committee ſhall correſpond with ſocieties or individuals who have ſubſcribed the declaration and taken the teſt of the preſent aſſociated ſocieties.

5th. That all queſtions ſhall be determined by a majority of the members preſent.

6th. That the baronial committee being regularly ſummoned, the one-third of its members ſhall be deemed a quorum, and capable of proceeding to buſineſs.

7th. That any buſineſs originating in any individual ſociety, ſhall, at the inſtance of ſuch ſociety's delegates, be by the baronial committee laid before the other ſocieties.

County Committees.

1ſt. When any county ſhall contain three or more baronial committees, two perſons ſhall be elected by ballot from each baronial committee to form a county committee (for three months).

2d. County committees ſhall receive delegates from baronial committees of adjacent counties, if ſaid counties do not contain three baronial committees.

Pro-

Provincial Committees.

1ſt. When two or more counties ſhall have county committees, three perſons ſhall be elected, by ballot from each, to form a provincial committee (for three months).

2d. Delegates from county committees in other provinces will be received, if ſuch provinces do not contain two county committees.

" National Committee.

" That when two provincial committees are " formed, they ſhall elect five perſons from each " by ballot, to form a national committee.

" N. B. Society's firſt meetings in November, " February, May, and Auguſt, to be on or be- " fore the 5th; baronial committees on or before " the 8th; county committees on or before the " 15th, and provincial committees on or before " the 25th of the above months.

" Baronial, county, and provincial commit- " tees, ſhall meet at leaſt once in every month, " and report to their conſtituents.

" Names of committee-men ſhould not be " known by any perſon but thoſe who elect them.

" Teſt for Secretaries of Societies or Committees.

" In the awful preſence of God.

" I *A. B.* do voluntarily declare, that as long " as I ſhall hold the office of ſecretary to this " I will, to the utmoſt of my " abilities, faithfully diſcharge the duties thereof.

" That all papers or documents received by me, " as ſecretary, I will in ſafety keep; I will not " give any of them, or any copy or copies of " them, to any perſon or perſons, members or

" others,

" others, but by a vote of this
" and that I will, at the expiration of my ſecre-
" taryſhip, deliver up to this
" all ſuch papers as may be then in my poſ-
" ſeſſion."

CERTIFICATE.

" Society of United Iriſhmen of

" I hereby certify that *A. B.* has been duly
" elected, and, having taken the teſt provided in
" the conſtitution, has been admitted a member
" of this ſociety."

Your committee think it neceſſary to point out a manifeſt and ſtriking diſtinction in the teſt annexed to the original declaration of the United Iriſhmen, and that annexed to this conſtitution, and which corroborates the opinion your Committee have already given, that Reform of Parliament was only a colourable object to work on the minds of the people, but that their real object was the overthrow of the conſtitution.

The original teſt holds forth a repreſentation of the Iriſh nation in Parliament, and a reform of that Parliament.

The preſent teſt, which your Committee find to be the one univerſally adopted in the ſocieties of which they have received information, and under which all the United Iriſhmen are at preſent ſworn, purpoſely omits the words Parliament and Reform, thereby clearly ſhewing that an original inſtitution, independent of Parliament, is the object, which is ſtill farther proved by the reports and communications between the committees and ſocieties, in which they mention an executive committee, under the authority of which they ſeem to act.

It

It appears to your Committee, that the conſtitution ſo recommended is in a great meaſure carried into effect, and that ſuch committees do exiſt.

That ſecretaries have been elected in theſe ſocieties; that committee-men have been appointed; that monthly contributions have been levied; that a treaſurer has been appointed; that perſons have been named to purchaſe pikes; that it was reſolved to furniſh pikes, at the expence of the ſociety, for thoſe who could not afford to purchaſe them; that perſons have been interrogated for their conduct; that reports have been received and approved of; that a military committee has been appointed; that returns of arms, ammunition, and men, are made to the military committee; and that officers have been appointed, will appear from the following entries in the minute-book of the ſociety, ſeized by Mr. Fox.

Entries in the Minute Book, No. 2, ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, Page 6, 7, and 8.

Reſolved, that the ſecretary ſhall be known by the name of 54th ſecretary of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt.

James Burnſide elected ſecretary, Pat. Handlam and John Atkinſon committee men.

Reſolved, that we will pay into the baronial committee 2s. 8d½d. per month.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann, along with the treaſurer, appointed to attend a committee of finance.

James Burnſide elected treaſurer.

Oct. 31ſt, 1796.

At a Meeting held in John Alexander's,
Richard M'Gee, Chair.

Reſolved, that three men be appointed to purchaſe pikes and poles for this ſociety—James Burnſide, Pat. M'Stravock and Richard M'Gee were appointed.

Reſolved, that any man that fairly tells any of theſe three appointed that he is not able to purchaſe a pike, that he ſhall be furniſhed with one out of the fund of this ſociety.

Reſolved, that we meet at Crozier's, in Union-ſtreet, at eight o'clock, on Sunday, 6th November, in the morning.

Crozier's, 6 Nov. 1796.

Edward Kelly, Chairman.

James Burnſide elected ſecretary.

Edward Kelly and Terence M'Cann were appointed committee men to attend the ninth diviſion.

Reſolved, that John Barret be interrogated who was the perſon gave him the word and ſign.

Reſolved, that if John Barret does not tell who it was that gave him the word and ſign, and take the oath that is neceſſary, he ſhall be excluded this ſociety.

Reſolved, that each member ſhall ſpend two-pence each night of meeting.

Page 10.

January 1ſt, 1797.

Richard M'Gee, Chairman.

Reſolved, that all money or ſubſcription, received for this ſociety, ſhall go to the uſe of buying pikes.

Page 11.

Nickles's, 22d January 1797.

Reſolved, that we approve of the reports that we have received from the committee.

Reſolved, that E. Kelly and R. M'Gee does attend the civil committee for this enſuing three months.

February 5th, 1797.

Edward Clements, Chairman.

Reſolved, that we approve of the report we have now heard read.

Page 12.

Reſolved, that we will not receive any other perſon from the military committee but ſuch as we have appointed.

Reſolved, that Wm. Stewart get a copy of this reſolution to lay before the committee.

Sunday, 19th Feb. 1797.

John Milton, Chairman.

Reſolved, that we will ballot for two new members to attend the military committee, in the place of Wm. Stewart and Richd. M'Gee.

Reſolved, that John Miller and Thomas Hanlon does attend the military committee till further order of this ſociety.

Page 13.

Reſolved, that James M'Donald gets a copy of the arms, ammunition, and men, belonging to this ſociety, to lay before the M. Committee.

Young's Tavern.

E. Kelly, Chairman.

Reſolved, that the reports which we have now received from the committee is apd. of by this ſociety.

Page 14.

Reſolved, by this ſociety, that each member who does not attend after legal warning ſhall be expelled this ſociety.

Reſolved by this ſociety, that the military officers ſhall get a liſt of the men's names belonging to this ſociety, to lay before the military committee.

Page 15.

Morriſon's, 2d April.

John Milton, Chairman.

Reſolved, that the officers ſhall get a liſt of the men's names under their command.

Alexander's, 9th April.

Page 16.

Reſolved, that John Milton gets a caution from E. Kelly that he is clear of the charge laid againſt him.

Reſolved, that we meet on Friday next in John Alexander's, at 8 o'clock.

It has appeared in evidence, that the communication between the different ſocieties and committees

mittees is carried on by means of the ſecretaries and delegates, who take notes of what paſſes, in order to report to and from the higher and lower ſocieties; and by this means the repreſentations and opinions of the inferior ſocieties are communicated to their ſuperiors, and the orders and inſtructions from the higher ſocieties and committees are conveyed to the inferior ones.

It appears in evidence, that the reports are not entered on the minutes, but uſually deſtroyed after being read by the ſecretary.

Your committee think it neceſſary, for the information of the Houſe, to ſtate at length the following papers, which will in a great meaſure develope the ſyſtem upon which theſe ſocieties proceed, and appear to be reports made by ſecretaries.

Paper writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Atkinſon.

No. 7.

Reſolutions of the United Societies of Donaghadee and its Vicinity.

1ſt. Reſolved, that it has always been the invariable opinion of all ſound philoſophers, ſtateſmen, and divines, that all power is radically in the people.

2d. Reſolved, that when tyrants, uſurpers, and oppreſſors, graſping at domination, or even ſuch as are legally delegated by the people, degenerate into tyrants, or act contrary to the truſt committed to them, in that caſe the people ought to claim their right, and the power return to its original channel.

3d. Reſolved, that at the preſent criſis the people being united ſhould alſo arm, chooſe their officers,

officers, and take a firſt, ſecond, and third requiſition, of ſuch as are able to go forth to war in defence of their rights as men.

4th. Reſolved, that our brethren in arms be duly provided for with ſuch things as their caſe and ſituation requires, and that means be adopted that their families may not ſuffer in their abſence.

5th. Reſolved, that to anſwer ſuch emergencies a contribution be impoſed upon the people in general, according to their reſpective circumſtances; rents and tythes ſhall alſo be conſidered, the latter of which, except in the preſent emergency, ſhall for ever be aboliſhed.

6th. Reſolved, that there are a great many inimical, and will, no doubt, prove hoſtile to the cauſe of liberty; their eſtates or property ſhall be confiſcated and converted to the national benefit.

7th. Reſolved, that the civil law muſt always be kept up, and proper men appointed to prevent outrage in the country, and theſe men to be aſſiſted by a military force, when called upon, and that ſaid men ſhall take proper meaſures to ſupport both the inhabitants and military with proper neceſſaries.

8th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be a national or (if it be thought more eligible) a provincial fund, where the property of the enemy ſhall be depoſited, and that drafts for the above purpoſes ſhall be made as neceſſity ſhall require.

9th. Reſolved, that any avowed enemy to the cauſe ſhall not have admittance into the ranks, when it makes its appearance, but ſhall be taken as priſoners and tried by a jury, according to the law then exiſting, and, if found guilty, their property diſpoſed of according to ſaid law.

10th. Reſolved, that farmers, or ſuch as poſſeſs a redundancy of victualling, ſhall bring it forward to ſale, and the families of ſuch as are called off in the cauſe of their country, ſhall be ſupplied thereby at a moderate price, which ſhall be agreed on by the revolutionary committee, or fit men delegated by them.

11th. Reſolved, that the wounded, the widow, and fatherleſs, of ſuch as have fought in the cauſe of their country, ſhall be provided for or ſupported from the aforeſaid fund.

12th. Reſolved, that there ſhall be an aſſociation under the name and deſignation of a Revolutionary Committee, compoſed of the beſt qualified and moſt reſpectable characters, viz. one man choſen from each ſociety, and delegated by ſaid ſociety to meet together, who ſhall keep and enforce the above reſolutions, and take care that they be carried into effect, and duly executed, whenever the cauſe ſhall require.

13th. Reſolved, that to act in concert with the Revolutionary Committee, there ſhall be magiſtrates appointed, and veſted with executive power, which ſhall continue in office for the ſpace of ſix months only, except in caſe of re-election; but if a revolution is accompliſhed, an annual election ſhall take place.

Paper

Paper-writing seized and identified by Lieutenant Ellison.

No. 7,

Reports from the Baronial Committee.

			£.	s.	d.
Men, Antrim	22922	Money	78	6	8
Down	16000		40	11	8
Derry	10000		8	5	9
Tyrone	6860		—	—	—
Armagh	4000		7	8	5
Monaghan	3020		—	—	—
Donegal	5000		9	9	7
Cavan	1000		—	—	—
Meath	1776		—	—	—
Fermanagh	2000		—	—	—
Louth	2060		—	—	—
Total men	72206		144	2	1½
Paid to Antrim prisoners -			78	6	8
Down ditto - -			11	7	6
Fermanagh ditto -			7	19	3
A Delegate of Tyrone			2	5	6
			99	18	11
Balance			44	3	2½

The following counties are formed into another provincial committee, viz. Westmeath, Kildare, Dublin city; the above counties are organized, and are coming on well. Dublin is divided into four districts. Your executive committee give no other reports than the organizing the above; not having met lately, here will a report be at next meeting of your pro-

provincial committee. Newry citizens have been very liberal; they voted £.21 11s. as private subscription, in addition to the large voluntary ones forwarded to their country; they employed a delegate to Cavan and Leinster counties, where they formed a number of societies; they promise to do well; cash £.17. There is a Capt. St. Leger, of the 24th dragoons, at present in Armagh, for being an active U. I. M. to which they sent £.4 11s. to be divided among his party that is confined; he has a wife and four children; his pay was taken from him, nor was he allowed to dispose of his commission. Recommended that all monthly subscriptions of counties be counted as if going to the provincial committee, that is to say, reserving a power to the counties discretion, whatever sum they may think necessary to grant their prisoners at. Balance to be paid to the provincial committee, which will shew at once the sum paid by each committee, likewise that there will be a monthly return of U. I. M. confined in each county, and what is allowed for their support. The county of Tyrone is much confused at present, owing to some their county members confined at present there; twenty-five men confined; not many the last month to support there; one there was, seven guineas voted to their support; they promised a return for this in another month: there was several petitions received from Kildare, and it is warmly recommended to the different counties to bring something forward for their support: last provincial meeting county Down delegates reported, that William Bristow of this town has a provincial account of last meeting previous to the sub-committee: Belfast, therefore be cautious, for some secretary is certainly deceiving us; the old word and sign of U. I. Men is abolished to

further orders. Louth delegates reported, that two men from Belfaſt, Denis Digney and Robert Rowney, behaved very ill, and was very near diſorganizing ſaid county on account of making uſe of lying reports and words and things of their making; your provincial committee dont approve of the reports of the county reſpecting new code of laws being quite too premature, your exece have that to do or to frame them; Armagh have appointed five to ſupport their priſoners; Monaghan delegates have a conſiderable ſum of money, but being ſo young in the buſineſs did not know how to bring it forward, but will on the next meeting; the city of Dublin is doing well; ſent to Newry for five conſtitutions, and going on regular, and is collecting money; will pay as ſoon as poſſible for the forwarding the buſineſs in the upper part of the county of Meath and Kildare; Dr. C q. take from Newry fifteen conſtitutions to the county Kildare, and promiſed to diſtribute them there with much attention; the delegates thought it proper to give in the ſums of money ſubſcribed by you to the provincial committee, being well aware of the numerous complaints made againſt your county for neglecting bringing forward money ſubſcribed monthly; the treaſurer of county Louth in Dublin; county of Antrim is far deficient reſpecting the monthly ſubſcription, for the county Down on an average pays not leſs than £.90 per month to priſoners and provincial county.

Report

Report of the County of Antrim.

Belfast.

Men	2,639
	526 Guns
	399 Bayonets
	88 Piſtols
	567 Pikes
	12,130 Ball Cartridges
	15,953 Balls
	566 Powder
	6 Cannons
	1 Mortar
County total	23,059
	2,659 Guns
	982 Bayonets
	204 Piſtols
	2,348 Pikes
	85 Swords
	18,235 Ball Cartridges
	2,358 Balls
	628¼ Powder
	8 Cannons
	1 Mortar

Paper ſeized and identified by Mr. Elliſon,

No. 2.

7th December.

2434 Men repreſented in Belfaſt—248 guns—212 bayonets—19 piſtols—32 ſwords—120 pikes—8027 rounds of ball-cartridge—82 pounds of powder—16 ſets of belts—and 2 forks.

COUNTY REPORTS.

20,184 Men—1179 guns—255 bayonets—35 piſtols—37 ſwords—8743 ball-cartridge in the ſeveral baronies repreſented in the county committee.

	£.	s.	d.
Upper Belfaſt - - - - paid	10	10	4
Lower ditto - - - -	1	8	11
Upper Mazareen - - -	2	1	8
Lower ditto - - -	14	15	9
Upper Antrim - - -	3	2	0
Lower ditto - - - -	5	1	4½
Upper Toom - - -	3	8	3
Lower ditto - -	18	4	8½
Lower Dunluſe - -	1	14	1½
Upper Glenarm - -	1	10	6
Lower Toom paid as voluntary ſubſcription - - -	4	1	0
	£.65	18	7½

The above money was paid the county committee.

PRO-

PROVINCIAL REPORTS.

County of			£.	s.	d.	Voluntary. £.	s.	d.
Antrim	19,256	For which they paid	29	17	5½	19	17	6
Down	12556		27	2	5½			
Derry	8000		16	16	10½			
Donegal	3000		2	2	4			
Tyrone	6500		21	12	3	12	10	3
Louth	1300		3	6	8			
Armagh	2500	paid nothing						
Monaghan	2500	ditto						
Cavan	800	ditto						
Meath	1776	ditto						
Fermanagh	1500	ditto						
	59688	men	100	18	0½	32	7	9

Your Provincial Committee reported that your Executive Committee did not act properly, in conſequence of which your Provincial ſtripped of all their powers and diſſolved them, and formed a new one; but to prevent the men that compoſed your Ex. C. to have any excuſe, your Provincial C. elected two-thirds of the old members for three months, and if they do not act as your Provincial C. thinks right, they will turn them out and put new ones in their place—the other third are men of reſpectability and honour, and they come under your Provincial C. inſpection, and are accountable to your Provincial C. for money and meaſures; ſome one handed in a report to p[r] as follows: recommending to U. I—n to be very circumſpect in their conduct, as the only wiſh of Government was to goad us into inſurrection, by which means they would have it in their power to put us down, never to riſe, at leaſt for a cen-

a century, and likewiſe we have paid a great deal of money to the people in gaol, and it will take a large ſum of money to aſſiſt them all winter; we requeſt the Co^e. to allow us to take our ſuperior officers for our body from the ſouth, of the beſt men, but notwithſtanding the treatment your Provincial received from your Ex. C^e. your Provincial C. acted with great caution and prudence; in conſequence of people being diſappointed ſo often in coming from the fartheſt parts of this kingdom to Belfaſt for conſtitutions, they allow them to be printed in three parts of this kingdom; they recommend to all U. I—n not to buy any thing from deſpots if they can poſſibly help it—your Provincial C. earneſtly recommends to all U. I—n to keep from intoxication—they promiſed to give to the county the number of defenders in Ireland —a defender up the country promiſed to give four thouſand guineas for the uſe of the U. I—n, and all he aſks is three or four of the U. I—n as ſecurity for that ſum.—Reported in the county C. that the Privy Council of Ireland ſummoned the titlar biſhops, and bribed them with 500 guineas, and deſired them to ſummon the prieſts, and the prieſts for to do all in their power to find out if any of their hearers was U. I—n, or held any converſation with the like; and if there was any that was or did ſo to excommunicate them from the church.—Your county C. thinks that if there is any U. I—n on the jury that will commit any of the priſoners that is confined for being U. I—n ought to loſe their exiſtence—the Orange men in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders.

A member of your County C. called a meeting of the ſame to petition Parliament for a Reform

of

Parliament, but all the members except a few were utterly againſt any ſuch thing.

BELFAST, BARONIAL REPORT.

1ſt Battalion of military came to a reſolution to divide into diviſions, each diviſion to compoſe three ſocieties, and out of them to appoint 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, the reſt to be ſergeants.

Reſolved that the 6th diviſion gets four conſtitution, three of them to ſend up the country.—Reſolved, that the 8 diviſion be granted one conſtitution for the 80 ſociety.—Reſolved, that the 3d diviſion be granted one do. for the priſoners in Carrick.—Reſolved, that the 20 ſociety be granted one conſtitution, and No. 11, for them ſplit, as that number was never filled.—Reſolved, that no ſecretary of ſocieties or committees give any reports they may receive to any perſon but in the ſociety or committee, and if any perſon be preſent not belonging to ſaid ſociety or committee, that they will not give the report in preſence of the ſtranger.

Reſolved, that we recommend to the military battalion to appoint men that can work field-pieces.

The 1ſt diviſion recommended to all ſocieties not to have any thing to ſay to father and ſon, name of Procter Sawyers.

Paper writing seized and identified by Mr. Atkinson.

No. 1.

	Provintial Report.				Prisoners.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Antrim	22039	50	11	6½	50	11	6½
Down	23769	75	—	9½	75	—	9½
Derry	10000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Armagh	12273	44	10	—	22	15	—
Donegal	9648	25	—	—	15	1	1½
Monaghan	3075	17	4	6	—	—	—
Tyrone	12169	22	10	2	11	5	1
Lowth	3438	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cavan	1000	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fermanagh	2000	—	—	—	—	—	—
	99411	234	17	—	174	13	6½
	For 8000 constitutions				13	13	—
	To the Executive				—	10	5½
					234	17	—

Antrim, Armagh, Down, Lowth.

Guns	Bayonets	Pistols	Swords	Pikes
6346	2536	465	202	3816

Ball Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Blunderbusses
20774	31699	1123	8	18
		1 Mortar		

The reports sooner nor usual on account of our friends being expected soon into Bantry; government is using all means in their power to put us into insurrection, the executive is taking proper measures to

 appoint

appoint proper officers. Mitchel the cows has got him in Dublin. No perſon to inſult yeomen on account of ſome of them turning out; ſet your face againſt bank notes and exciſe buſineſs as that is the beſt means to harraſs the government; the Executive requeſts the full returns of men and arms and means of defence as in caſe if our friends not coming, but there is no danger for to no our own ſtrength. Lienſter commit. on Sunday laſt met, but we could have no return of provintial report that each county takes it to account to make friends of Catholics and Orange men as it is doing a great dail of good in Armagh.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Antrim 22480—	44	2	1½	—voluntary	203	16	3½

Guns.	Bayonets.	Piſtols.	Swords.	Pikes.
2675	1267	302	245	3610

Ba. Cartridge	Balls	Powder	Cannon	Mortar
19919	53869	900½	8	1

Reſolved, that each county member brings entilligance how wifes and children is to be ſupported.

Reſolved, that 35*l.* 5*s.* 2½*d.* be got for the enſuing month, try al of friends 168*l.* 11*s.*

	£.	s.	d.
Forward to provincial committee	34	2	6
Provincial expenſes -	5	19	2
Treaſurer's hands -	4	—	5½
	44	2	1

Three perſons in each diviſional comm. to ſettle any buſineſs betwixt united Iriſhmen, upper Tomb reported. Samuel Anderſon, James Murray, Gilbert Clark, John Harris formed a ſecret comm. to

deſtroy united Iriſh, and Harris opened the plot againſt the whole.

Reſolved, that Dundaſs Mil. movement or other publication ſhould be read by Mil. officers.

	£.	s.	d.
Voluntary ſubſcription from 1ſt diviſion	158	11	5½

	Guineas
Do. for mounting cannon -	26
2 diviſion for cannon - -	3
9 diviſion - - -	1½
10 do. - - -	1
Total	31

Devlin and Haughner Artilery Militia. } bad men

Reſolved, that voluntery ſubſcription to be paid next meeting.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 5.

A report from the military committee received as ſuch; you are to let the officers know their men and the men their officers, and do not fail to engage them in a ſolemn manner that they may call them out on one minute's warning, and they may by that means endeavour to ſee them armed in the moſt ſpeedy manner; there is no time to be loſt, for the grand committee think that if one of the priſoners we let them be hanged we ſhall forfeit our intention for evermore, for we know not the minute we'll be called on to give an account; for our friends is hourly expected.

Paper-

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox.

No. 10.

COUNTY REPORTS, 11th April, 1797.

They received from the ariſtocrats of Belfaſt 374*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* which was laid out as follows:

Paid the committee appointed to attend the priſoners of this circuit	283	15	0
Paid into the hands of different people to attend the priſoners out of this circuit - - -	90	9	6
	374	4	6
Received from the ſocieties of this county as a voluntary ſubſcription	356	10	2

which was paid to the committee for the priſoners uſe; the provincial reports that they have uſed every means to defend the priſoners at the time of trial.

Men	Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols	Swords
22,716	2,948	1,536	417	397

Pikes	B. Cartridges	Balls	lbs. Powder
4,888	24,911	70,943	1,230

Cannon	Mortar
8	1

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Belfaſt Town	482	17	6	12	14	1
Upper do.	38	6	1½	9	2	0
Lower do.	22	6	10½	—	—	—
Upper Maſereene	9	14	11½	—	—	—
Lower do.	28	12	8	—	—	—
Upper Antrim	83	9	0	—	—	—
Lower do.	14	10	5½	—	—	—
Upper Toome	1	14	1½	—	—	—
Lower do.	16	16	4½	3	13	0½
Upper Dunluce	3	5	9	—	—	—
Lower do.	—	—	—	1	16	0
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3	—	—	—
Lower do.	5	2	4½	—	—	—
Kilconway	1	6	3	—	—	—
Kerry	4	0	0	—	16	7
	730	14	8½	28	1	8½

The reaſon why there was not more monthly money paid was that the people thought it rather early in the month.

Reſolved, that the provincial form a plan for the ſupport of poor families, that they get us the number of Defenders in the kingdom who are not U. I. and if they will act in concert with U. I.

Fulton and M'Cormick, who was reported ſome time ago to behave improperly, was tried and found innocent of that charge. John Kennedy from Crew brother-in-law to Hy. Sinclair of N. Street in Belfaſt, is very bad, and came here for the purpoſe of getting information. William Pale, a deſerter, Kinly Shilock, blackſmith of Duncathery, Robert M'Clelland of Ballymena, and John Love an attorney of do. is all very bad and ought to be guarded againſt.

Reſolved, that we again declare it highly improper to hold any communication with people out of ſociety without they are well known.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that a committee of ſeven be appointed to lay out the money for the priſoners to the amount of 200*l.* — 66 conſtitutions was granted at this meeting.

That it be recommended to all ſocieties that is wealthy to enter into a vol. ſub. for the purpoſe of arming our poor fellow-citizens.

Paper-writing ſeized and identified by Lt. Elliſon.

No. 1.

11th April, 1797.

COUNTY REPORT.

	Men	Guns	Bayonets	Piſtols
Antrim.	22,716	2,248	1,748	417

Swords	Piſtols	Pikes
363	363	4,888

Subſcription.	£.	s.	d.
Town Belfaſt -	482	17	6
Upper do. -	0	0	0
Lower do. -	26	6	10½
Upper Mazerine	9	14	11
Lower do. -	26	12	10
Upper Antrim -	83	12	0
Lower do. -	14	13	0
Upper Toom -	1	14	0½
Lower do. -	16	16	4
Upper Dinluſe -	3	5	7
Lower do. -	1	16	4
Upper Glenarm	18	12	3
Lower Glenarm	5	2	4
Kilconoury -	1	6	3
Keary - -	4	0	7
Total	693	8	9½

A volun-

A voluntary ſubſcription got from the araſtorrick - - -	374	4	6
Paid to the North Weſt Sirkiet -	90	9	6
To Do. the North Eſt Do. -	283	15	4

Recommended to the Provenſal Ct. to form a plan of proviſion for poor mens familys during our exhorſhings in the field. Fulton and M'Cormick afirs is ſettled. Jno. brother-in-law to Hy Sinclair from Crew, Kinly Sherlick Dimanry is a bad man and is wery dangeries to the cauſe. John Love belly moner a bad man very dangers to the cauſe. A riſulition we again declare it that it highly improper to hold any communication with perſons out of ſociety, not nowing them to be regular members. Reſolved that 7 members out of this cte. be choſen he will be appointed he ſhall have full power to vot away any ſums of money not exceeding 200l. if in your hands, if in there hands for the ſeport of the provenſal priſiners. Laſt meeting 66 Ct. voted away.

Beroniel, Reſolved that it is recommended to the different ſocietys that is able to enter into a voluntary ſubſcription for the uſe of arming thoſe that is not able.

That theſe reports are generally circulated through the ſocieties is further proved by a paper (Appendix, No. III.) taken by a magiſtrate in a diſtant part of the county of Antrim; and another paper (Appendix, No. IV.) taken in the county of Down, near Portaferry, from a perſon who acknowledged himſelf to be ſecretary, on or about the 8th of November. The time of their forming themſelves into military bodies is aſcer-

tained by this paper; and it is to be obſerved that the yeomanry corps, eſtabliſhed by parliament about the ſame time, were reſiſted and oppoſed in thoſe parts of the kingdom where the United Iriſhmen appeared to have been moſt active.

It appears from a variety of evidence, that no means are neglected for eſtabliſhing their conſtitution and enforcing an obedience to their laws; that contributions are levied to defray the expences of the ſociety; that threats and intimidations are employed againſt witneſſes and jurymen as a means to prevent their aſſociates from being brought to juſtice; and that a committee is appointed to defray the expences of defending ſuch as are brought to trial and are in priſon; that the aſſiſtance of the French is expected and held forth as negotiated for; that at Belfaſt alone exiſt eighty ſocieties at leaſt; and that emiſſaries are employed to extend theſe ſocieties; that arms and ammunition are procured, pikes bought, officers appointed, military diſcipline recommended and enforced by oaths to be taken by officers and men; (Appendix, No. V.) proviſion for the families of their ſociety during their exertions in the field; that ſuſpected perſons are brought to account for their actions, and it has been ſtated in evidence that a tribunal is appointed for this purpoſe, who try the offenders in their abſence, and determine their puniſhment, even to death.

The Committee forbear from ſtating individual inſtances of outrage and aſſaſſination which have appeared to them in evidence, as they may become the ſubjects of trial in the courts of juſtice; and for the ſame reaſon your Committee refrain from ſtating the parol evidence that has been laid

laid before them reſpecting the attempts to ſeduce the military; the Committee think it their duty to ſtate the fact of ſuch attempts having been made, and at the ſame time to repreſent, that in their opinion thoſe attempts are ſo far from having been attended with the ſucceſs that was expected by thoſe who practiſed them, that the Committee feel themſelves fully warranted in expreſſing the firmeſt reliance on the zeal and loyalty of his Majeſty's troops.

Your Committee is inclined to believe that the numbers of the perſons ſtated in the returns of the ſeveral counties are conſiderably over-rated; for it has been ſtated to them in evidence, that every artifice is uſed to keep up their ſpirits by exaggerated reports of their ſtrength and power.

At the ſame time your Committee think it neceſſary to ſtate, as their decided opinion, upon a review of the whole evidence that has been laid before the whole Committee, that a complete revolution and confiſcation of property, and the eſtabliſhment of a republic upon French principles, are the real objects of this conſpiracy, and not an amelioration of the preſent conſtitution.

From the importance of the matter contained in this report, your Committee have thought it their duty to loſe no time in laying it before the Houſe, and are proceeding in their inquiries.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

"IN the preſent great æra of reform, when unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter of Europe, when religious perſecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience, when the rights of man are aſcertained in theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by practice,—when antiquity can no longer defend abſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind, when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be ſo far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare, we think it our duty as Iriſhmen to come forward and ſtate what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

"WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

"We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſervants of Engliſhmen, filled as to commerce and politics with the ſhort-ſighted and ignorant prejudices of their country, and theſe men have the whole of the power and patronage of Ireland as means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the le-

" giſlature; ſuch an extrinſic power acting with " uniform force in a direction too frequently op- " poſite to the true line of our obvious intereſts, " can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by *unanimity*, " *deciſion, and ſpirit in the people:* qualities which " may be exerted moſt legally, conſtitutionally, " and efficaciouſly by that great meaſure eſſen- " tial to the proſperity and freedom of Ireland, *A* " *more equal repreſentation of the people in parlia-* " *ment.*

" We do not here mention as a grievance, the " rejection of a place bill, of a penſion bill, of a " reſponſibility bill, the ſale of peerages in one " Houſe, the corruption publicly avowed in the " other, nor the notorious infamy of borough " traffic between both: not that we do not feel " their enormity, but that we conſider them but " as ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe which cor- " rodes the vitals of our conſtitution, and leaves " to the people in their own government but a " ſhadow of a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we the un- " derſigned have agreed to form an aſſociation, " to be called

" and we do pledge ourſelves as citizens, and as " ſoldiers, to our country, and mutually to each " other, that we will ſteadily ſupport and endea- " vour, by all due means, to carry into effect the " following reſolutions:

" 1ſt. Reſolved, that the conſtitution of Ire- " land exiſts only in theory, inaſmuch as the " people are deprived of their natural weight in " the ſcale of government, becauſe they are not " duly repreſented in parliament, and therefore " that a more general extenſion of the elective " franchiſe is indiſpenſably neceſſary.

" 2d.

" 2d. Reſolved, that the weight of Engliſh in-
" fluence in the government of this country is ſo
" great as to require a cordial union among the
" people to maintain that balance which is eſſen-
" tial to the preſervation of our liberties, and the
" extenſion of our commerce.

" 3d. Reſolved, that ſatisfied as we are that
" the true greatneſs and happineſs of Ireland can
" ariſe ſolely from a complete internal union of
" *all her people*, we lament the miſtaken policy
" which has ſo long divided them, and that we
" ſhall heartily co-operate in all meaſures tend-
" ing to the abolition of diſtinctions between
" Iriſhmen, equally invidious and unjuſt, and
" which have been uniformly the ſource of
" weakneſs, and miſery, and diſgrace to the
" country.

" Such are the reſolutions which we propoſe
" as fundamental principles; we have gone to
" what we conceive to be the root of the evil, we
" have ſtated what we conceive to be the re-
" medy. With a reformed parliament, every
" thing is eaſy, without it nothing can be done,
" unleſs by means too violent for the good peo-
" ple of this country, if not provoked beyond
" human ſufferance, even to think on.

" And we do call on, and moſt earneſtly ex-
" hort our brethren THE VOLUNTEERS OF IRE-
" LAND, who may, *in fact*, eſtabliſh, as they
" have *in theory* reſtored the independence of
" their native land: we call upon our country-
" men in general to follow our example, and to
" form ſimilar ſocieties in every quarter of the
" kingdom for the promotion of conſtitutional
" knowledge, and the diſpenſation of *genuine*
" *whig principles*; the people when thus collected
" will feel their own weight, and ſecure that

" power which theory has already admitted as
" their portion, and to which if they be not
" aroused by their present provocations to vindi-
" cate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions
" for EVER !

" The foregoing contain my true and sincere
" opinion of the state of this country, *so far as in*
" *the present juncture it may be advisable to publish*
" *it.* They certainly fall short of the truth, but
" truth itself must sometimes condescend to tem-
" porise. My unalterable opinion is, that the
" bane of Irish prosperity is in the influence of
" England : I believe that influence will ever be
" extended while the connexion between the
" countries continues; nevertheless, as I know
" that opinion is, *for the present*, too hardy,
" though a very little time may establish it uni-
" versally ; I have not made it a part of the reso-
" lutions, I have only proposed to set up a re-
" formed parliament as a barrier against that
" mischief which every honest man that will open
" his eyes must see in every instance overbears
" the interest of Ireland : I have not said one
" word that looks like a wish for *separation*,
" though I give it to you and your friends as my
" most decided opinion that such an event would
" be a regeneration to this country.

" I have, you will see, alluded to the resolu-
" tions of the *whig club*, and I have differed with
" them *in degree only* ; that is, I think, and I am
" sure they do not go far enough, *they are not sin-*
" *cere friends to the popular cause* ; they dread the
" people as much as the Castle does. It may be
" objected that an implied difference of sentiment
" between them and the people will weaken both
" —I think otherwise ; if they do not join you in
" supporting a reform in parliament, they do not

" deserve

" deſerve ſupport themſelves: apply the touch-
" ſtone; if they ſtand the trial, well; if they
" fail, they are falſe and hollow, and the ſooner
" they are detected the better. What ſignifies
" peddling with their ſuperficial meaſures? They
" are good *ſo far as they go*, but for the people
" to ſpend their ſtrength in purſuit of ſuch
" would be juſt as wiſe as for a man who has a
" mortification in his bowels to be very ſolicitous
" about a plaſter for his ſore finger. To be can-
" did, I dare ſay, that my Lord Charlemont, and
" I am pretty ſure that Mr. Grattan, would heſi-
" tate very much at the reſolutions which I ſend;
" but I only beg you will diſmiſs your reſpect
" for great names; read over the reſolutions and
" what I have now ſaid, and then determine im-
" partially between us. I have alluded to the
" catholics, but ſo remotely as I hope not to
" alarm the moſt cautious proteſtant; it is wicked
" nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland in which
" they ſhall not have their due ſhare.

" I have in the third reſolution conceded very
" far indeed to what I conſider as vulgar and ig-
" norant prejudices: look at France and Ame-
" rica. The Pope burnt in effigy at Paris, the
" Engliſh catholics at this very hour ſeceding
" from his church; a thouſand arguments crowd
" on me, but it is unneceſſary here to dwell on
" them. I hope you will find this reſolution
" ſufficiently guarded and cool. I have been
" purpoſely vague and indefinite, and I muſt ſay
" men, who would ſeek a reform and omit that
" indiſpenſable ſtep, have different notions both
" of expediency and juſtice from any that I can
" conceive.

" I think the beſt opportunity for publiſhing
" them will be on the 14th July; I learn there

" is

" is to be a commemoration of the French revo-
" lution, that morning-ſtar of liberty to Ireland;
" the volunteers, if they approve of the plan,
" may then adopt it, and I have ſo worded it as
" to leave them an opportunity; I have left, as
" you ſee, a blank for the name, which I am
" clearly of opinion ſhould be the Society of
" United Iriſhmen."

No. II.

Declaration of a Society, calling themſelves a Society of United Iriſhmen in Dublin, 9th November, 1791, being ſimilar to that of a Society in Belfaſt.

" IN the preſent great æra of reform, when
" unjuſt governments are falling in every quarter
" of *Europe*, when religious perſecution is com-
" pelled to abjure her tyranny over conſcience,
" when the rights of men are aſcertained in
" theory, and that theory ſubſtantiated by prac-
" tice, when antiquity can no longer defend ab-
" ſurd and oppreſſive forms againſt the common
" ſenſe and common intereſts of mankind, when
" all government is acknowledged to originate
" from the people, and to be ſo far only obli-
" gatory as it protects their rights and promotes
" their welfare; we think it our duty, as Iriſh-
" men, to come forward and ſtate what we feel
" to be our heavy grievance, and what we know
" to be its effectual remedy.

" We have no National Government.

" We are ruled by Engliſhmen and the ſer-
" vants of Engliſhmen, whoſe object is the in-
" tereſt of another country, whoſe inſtrument is

" cor-

" corruption, whoſe ſtrength is the weakneſs of " Ireland, and theſe men have the whole of " the power and patronage of the country as " means to ſeduce and ſubdue the honeſty and " the ſpirit of her repreſentatives in the legiſla- " ture. Such an extrinſic power, acting with " uniform force in a direction too frequently op- " poſite to the true line of our obvious inte- " reſts, can be reſiſted with effect ſolely by una- " nimity, deciſion, and ſpirit, in the people, " qualities which may be exerted moſt legally, " conſtitutionally, and efficaciouſly, by that " great meaſure eſſential to the proſperity and " freedom of Ireland—an equal Repreſentation " of all the People in Parliament.

" We do not here mention as grievances the " rejection of a place bill, of a penſion bill, of a " reſponſibility bill, the ſale of peerages in one " houſe, the corruption publickly avowed in the " other, nor the notorious infamy of borough " traffic between both; not that we are inſenſible " of their enormity, but that we conſider them " as but ſymptoms of that mortal diſeaſe which " corrodes the vitals of our conſtitution, and " leaves to the people in their own government " but the ſhadow of a name.

" Impreſſed with theſe ſentiments, we have " agreed to form an aſſociation, to be called " The Society of United Iriſhmen, and we do " pledge ourſelves to our country, and mutually " to each other, that we will ſteadily ſupport and " endeavour by all due means to carry into effect " the following reſolutions:

" 1. Reſolved, That the weight of Engliſh " influence in the government of this country " is ſo great as to require a cordial union among " all the people of Ireland, to maintain that ba-

" lance which is essential to the preservation of " our liberties and the extension of our com- " merce.

" 2. That the sole constitutional mode by " which this influence can be opposed is by a " complete and radical reform of the representa- " tion of the people in Parliament.

" 3. That no reform is practicable, effica- " cious, or just, which shall not include Irishmen " of every religious persuasion.

" Satisfied as we are that the intestine divisions " among Irishmen have too often given encou- " ragement and impunity to audacious and cor- " rupt administrations in measures which, but for " these divisions, they durst not have attempted, " we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the " basis of our political faith.

" We have gone to what we conceive to be " the root of the evil; we have stated what we " conceive to be the remedy: With a Parlia- " ment thus reformed, every thing is easy; " without it nothing can be done; and we do " call on and most earnestly exhort our country- " men in general to follow our example, and form " similar societies in every quarter of the king- " dom for the promotion of constitutional know- " ledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and " politics, and the equal distribution of the " Rights of Man throughout all sects and de- " nominations of Irishmen.

" The people, when thus collected, will feel " their own weight, and secure that power which " theory has already admitted as their portion, " and to which, if they be not aroused by their " present provocations to vindicate it, they de- " serve to forfeit their pretensions for ever.

" JAMES NAPPER TANDY,
" Secretary."

TEST.

" I, A. B. in the preſence of God, do pledge " myſelf to my country that I will uſe all my " abilities and influence in the attainment of an " impartial and adequate repreſentation of the " Iriſh nation in Parliament; and as a means of " abſolute and immediate neceſſity in the eſta- " bliſhment of this chief good of Ireland, I will " endeavour as much as lies in my ability to for- " ward a brotherhood of affection, an identity " of intereſts, a communion of rights, and an " union of power among Iriſhmen of all religi- " ous perſuaſions, without which every reform in " Parliament muſt be partial, not national, ina- " dequate to the wants, deluſive to the wiſhes, " and inſufficient for the freedom and happineſs " of this country."

No. III.

Paper Writing, taken by a Magiſtrate in a diſtant Part of the County of Antrim.

Minutes of the County Proceedings.

	Men	Guns	Piſt.	Pks.	Balls	Powd.
U. B.	1500	191	5	700	3000	7
Town do.	2639	526	88	567	28083	569
L. B.	1088	197	24	60	1550	12
U. A.	1801	200	—	435	Bay 160	
L. A.	1800	105	—	113		
U. M.	1540	30	11	40		
U. T.	1844	239	14	65		
L. T.	2074	361	24		2074	
U. D.	2000	300			3000	
L. D.	1521	30	10			13
U. G.	722	156	19	42		27
L. G.	950	20	10	6		
K.	392	42				
C.	1030	62				
Total	22039	2659	205	2848	42520	628

Cannon, eight 6-pounders.

T. B. 12l. 13s. 8½d. U. B. 12l. 7s. 4d. L. B. 18s. —½d. U. A. 3l. 5s. 11d. L. A. 2l. 6s. 2d. L. M. U. M. 1l. 15s. 6d. U. T. 8l. 17s. 8d. L. T. —— L. D. 2l. 9s. 6d. L. D. U. G. L. G. K. 10s. C. 1l. 14s. 0½d. Total paid in 46l. 8s. 4d.

C. An-

C. Antrim 20942. D. 15000. Derry 10000. T. 6600. Ar. 4000. M. 3200. Don^{l}. 5088. Cavin 1000. Meath 1776. Fer. 2000. Louth 2600.——Total 72206. An. 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 40l. Derry 8l. 5s. 9d. Ar. 7l. 8s. 5d. Don. 9l. 9s. 7d. Total 144l. 2s. 1½d. Caſh paid to Antrim priſioners 78l. 6s. 8d. D. 11l. 7s. 6d. Ty. 7l. 19s. 3d. Delegates 2l. 5s. 6d. Total, 99l. 18s. 11d. Ball^{ce}, 44l. 3s. 2½d.

Provincial Returns.

Countys formed into a noth^{r}. P. C. viz. Weſtth. Killd^{r}. Dub. Co. D. D. Cy. above Co. are organ^{d}. D. dowing well, D. Cy. divided into 4 Diſt. yr. Ex^{ve}. give no other report then the organ^{s}. of the above not having latly met a report to be given from P. Com^{te}. next meeting. Newry citz. have been very gen^{rs}. their privets ſubſcrp^{n}. are 21. 11. 0. beſides large vol^{y}. ſub^{crs} to their Co. have employ'd dell^{ts} to go to Cavan and Letrim Cos. are formed and doing will, expenſe 17s. Cap. St. Legar of 24 dragoons confind in Ar. jail for Ex^{ve}. com. D. Ball. ſent to him to

q

diſtribute, a wife and 4 chil^{n}. pay taken from him. When Co. expenſes are pd. Ball. are to go to the P. Com^{te}. a number of men taken from Co. Tyrone was Co. mem^{rs}. Total 25. 7gs. for their ſupport voted, and they promiſe reſtit^{n}. next month. The Kilrea buſineſs to be recommended to the P. Com^{tee}. for the opinion. Mr. Briſtow of B. knows our provinc^{l}. meetings too well. Armagh appointed a com^{tee} of 5 to take care of their priſioners. Co. Mon. have caſh in hand. Co. D. 50 conſt^{n}. from T. of Newry and collecting mony faſt wh. will ſhortly be pd. in D.

forwarding the buſineſs to Meath and Killdear, 15 conſtns. ſent to do. place. The Co. Ant. at this time is deffice^{t} in their ſubſcrip^{n}. Co. Down pays 90l. m. to the pris^{rs}. and to the P. Com^{te}. The priſioners in Carick 29 are paid 1 guin. each for 2 laſt months. 2 G. Coats by a Mrs. M^{c}Clellan to poor ſol^{d}. and 9 guis. to 9 of pooreſt ſort.

U. Iriſhmen are warned not to cut timber that does not belong to themſelves on any acc^{t}. for if the be proſecuted for the ſame, they will not meet with any ſupport whatever, as it brings a reproach on the cauſe. They are alſo warned agst. partial inſurrections of every kind, but to be obedient to the preſent laws by a prudent and ſober conduct; for, by perſevering in union, we will at length work our own freedom in ſpite of all oppoſition. As ſoon as the South is properly organ^{d}. a National Convention will be eſtabliſhed, which is expected ſoon to take place.

Equal Liberty and juſtic is the Equality only to be ſought by us,

No. IV.

Paper-writing taken near Portaferry, in the County of Down, on or about 8th November 1796.

At a Baronial Meeting, October 22d, the County and Provincial Returns, &c.

Lower Caſtlereigh	3020
Upper Caſtlereigh	1098
Kilnarty -	1299
Differin -	570
Ards -	2475
Upper Iveigh	1165
Lower Iveigh	1327
Lecale -	62
Down -	11016

Caſh received 22l. 3s. 2d.

paid of that	£.3	8	3
	—	16	5
Voted for the relief of the priſoners -	14	15	9
	19	—	5
	3	2	9

Pro-

Provincial Returns as follows:

		£.	s.	d.	
Antrim	15000	47	15	6	
Derry	3696				
Tyrone	4355	13	1	7	
		20	9	6	Down Sep^{r}. caſh
	34067	11	2	6	In treaſ^{rs}. hands
		5	6	1	Rem^{s}. in Province
		97	14	8	The whole of which was voted to the Execut. Committee.

Reports in the following Places:

Donegal -	2000
Armagh -	1000
Louth -	1600
Monaghan	1000
Cork -	1600
Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare, Dublin	16000
Total	57267

Reſolved on the following word and ſign: the under button of the waiſtcoat to be taken out with the right-hand, ſaying, "See."

Anſwer. Take out two under buttons with the left-hand, ſaying, "What?"

Report

Report of the Select Committee, Resolutions, &c.

Resolved, That one committee for this county be sufficient; one delegate to be sent from each division of baronies.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the different societies to enter into liberal subscriptions, for by the monthly subscriptions for the relief of our friends prisoners in this county gaol, as a safe communication is found thereto.

Resolved, That it is recommended to the divisions of baronies, societies, &c. to form themselves into military bodies, and chuse their own officers.

Resolved, That at this very alarming period of proscription by tyrants, we should more than ever persevere in forwarding that brotherhood of affection we so solemnly pledged ourselves to, and to be punctual in paying finance, viz. one penny each member per month.

Communications.—Four new societies organized in Scotland; eight more constitutions left; formed a baronial committee. County Kerry militia required one hundred constitutions for their own use; a few constitutions in Downshire, and a good many united.

Moved and seconded, that thirteen guineas of this county money received to-day be given to our county secretary, to be paid to the relief of our friends prisoners, according to their different necessities.

Moved and seconded, for instructions to provincial delegates to move at their first committee, That the provincial executive committee do be empowered to carry on the trials of all our

friends in the different counties who are there proſecuted.

As ſoon as our friends arrived in Dublin, there was a deputation came to Belfaſt, to know if they ſhould be liberated, as they had it in their power.

Report of a ſmuggler out; if ſhe arrives ſafe there will be plenty of

Adjourned until in
at the houſe of at the hour of ten o'clock.

No. V.

Paper Writing ſeized, and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 4.

"I, A. B, do voluntarily ſwear that I will not "call upon this ſociety but when regularly called "upon by my ſuperior officers, and that I will "be true and honeſt to the men under my com-"mand."

Paper Writing ſeized and identified by Mr. Fox, No. 6.

"I, A. B. do voluntarily ſwear, that I will "turn out when regularly called on by my "officers, and that I will obey them in all that "is lawful, and not otherwiſe."

COUNTY

COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

At a General Seſſion of the Peace, held at Kilmainham, in and for the ſaid County, on the 25th of April, 1797, by the High Sheriff and Juſtices of the Peace.

To ROBERT DAY, *Eſq. Chairman, &c. &c.*

SIR,

WE beg leave to expreſs our warmeſt approbation of your Charge this day delivered to the Grand Jury. Accept our ſincere acknowledgments; and ſuffer us to ſay, that an addreſs ſo replete with conſtitutional information, ſo well calculated to awaken the infatuated to a ſenſe of the bleſſings attending ſocial order, and to draw our deluded countrymen from impending deſtruction to loyalty, peace, and proſperity, cannot be too generally promulgated. We, therefore, unanimouſly requeſt that you will ſuffer its publication. And, Sir, while we admire your virtues and exertions, we ſhall not fail to profit by your advice and exemplary conduct, in our zealous endeavours to preſerve the public peace, and thereby to promote the police of our county, and the happineſs of our fellow-ſubjects.

CHRISTOPHILUS CLINCH, Sheriff.

Thomas Leighton.	William Jones.
John Trail.	Richard Manders.
William Worthington.	St. George O'Kelly.
Nathaniel Hone.	Abel Onge.
John White.	Thomas White.
James Stubbs.	Wm. Bellingham Swan.
James Hamilton.	Edward Kennedy.
John Exſhaw.	

SIR,

THE Grand Jury have directed me to return their ſincere thanks for your very eloquent, impreſſive, and well-timed Charge; and that the good effects thereof may be rendered as diffuſive as poſſible, they requeſt you will cauſe it to be publiſhed. I have the honour to be,

With great reſpect and eſteem,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient Servant,

GEO. RIBTON, Foreman,

for Self and Fellows.

To the HIGH SHERIFF, MAGISTRATES, *and* GRAND JURY *of the County of Dublin.*

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received the honour of your addreſſes with a grateful and juſt ſenſe of their importance and value. It is matter of ſolid ſatisfaction to me to perceive that my well-meant, though feeble, efforts for preſerving the peace of our county, and in defence of our laws and unparalled conſtitution, is crowned with the favour and ſanction of ſo enlightened and reſpectable a body of my fellow-ſubjects. The only expreſſion of gratitude which I can give, and you require, is a perſeverance in that conſcientious diſcharge of duty, which has conciliated your approbation, and advanced me in your eſteem.

ROBERT DAY.

A CHARGE,

Delivered by ROBERT DAY, *Esq. to the* GRAND JURY *of the County of Dublin.*

"Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

"YOU are called together this day to bear "your part in diſpenſing criminal juſtice to our "county:—you are called together to co-operate "with the other component members of this tri-"bunal, in adminiſtering the beſt ſyſtem of cri-"minal juriſprudence which the wit of man has "ever been able to deviſe;—that mild and be-"nign ſyſtem, which, from the earlieſt ages of "antiquity hath diſtinguiſhed and exalted the "Britiſh conſtitution and empire above all others, "where the wiſeſt precautions are adopted to "protect innocence, and to diſappoint malice, "corruption, prejudice, and every other evil af-"fection of the mind; where twenty-four honeſt "reſponſible neighbours, above all exception, "muſt be fully ſatisfied in their conſciences that "the accuſed is guilty, and muſt unanimouſly, "and upon their oaths, pronounce him ſo;— "where the ſmall man is heard as patiently as the "great, the poor man as favourably as the rich; "—where no man is reſpected for his rank, or "feared for his power. The nature of the office "which you have juſt undertaken, and the true "character of a juror, may be ſummed up in a "few words: To be a juror, is to be the guar-"dian of innocence, the avenger of guilt, a friend

" to juſtice, and the moſt perfect organ of truth;
" —to be a juror is to be the beſt benefactor of
" the people, the beſt preſerver of their public
" and perſonal rights; it is to defend the conſti-
" tution alike againſt anarchy and arbitrary
" power; againſt the ſilent and undermining en-
" croachments of the monarch on the one hand,
" and on the other againſt the boiſterous and over-
" bearing encroachments of the many. In a
" word, next to the legiſlative truſt, there ſurely
" is no other which concerns more eſſentially the
" well-being of the ſtate, than that of juries. It
" is therefore much to be wondered at, that ſo
" many gentlemen of education and property in
" our county ſhould make ſo much difficulty in
" ſerving upon the Seſſion and Commiſſion Grand
" Juries. Can their time and trouble be better
" beſtowed than in adminiſtering juſtice to their
" fellow-ſubjects? In truth, this reluctance is a
" ſerious public misfortune, becauſe every man,
" in proportion to his ſtake in the community,
" and the cultivated ſtate of his mind, is moſt
" likely to feel the weight of that truſt; moſt
" likely, on the one hand, to reſiſt with firmneſs
" the undue interference of power; on the other
" hand, to promote a reverence for the laws, by
" a ſtrict and ſcrupulous execution of them, with-
" out which the fruits of honeſt induſtry, and
" every other bleſſing of ſocial life, muſt be pre-
" carious. Surely thoſe men are but ill intitled to
" the proud privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, who
" decline to take their ſhare in the public duties,
" which, however burdenſome, are the ſureſt
" means of maintaining us in the undiſturbed en-
" joyment of our moſt precious rights.

" You will hear with concern, that the crimes
" on the face of the Calendar are numerous and

that

" that their quality in general is of conſiderable
" enormity. This too is the more obſervable, as
" our magiſtrates are active, our criminal tribu-
" nals aſſiduous, and the war into which we have
" been forced by anarchy and atheiſm, has weeded
" our county, as uſual, of many maleſactors and
" idlers. But the times are diſtinguiſhed by ſome
" ſtriking and peculiar features. You have never
" before known Sedition (that fruitful parent of
" diſaſtrous crimes!) to ſtalk ſo publicly and con-
" fidently through the land, or ſo daringly and
" powerfully patronized. You have never before
" known Iriſh men and Iriſh prints (diſclaiming
" that old-faſhioned virtue which once embraced
" every other, the love of their country) openly
" to exult in our domeſtic embarraſſments, in the
" miſcarriages of a magnanimous ally, and the ſuc-
" ceſſes of a mercileſs and exterminating enemy.
" You know the pains which are taken to diſpa-
" rage the whole frame of our legiſlature, and to
" render it diſguſting and odious in the eyes of
" the people; that legiſlature to whoſe wiſdom
" and patriotiſm we owe the unexampled growth
" and rapid proſperity of Ireland. The laws,
" under which we have thus happily flouriſhed,
" are repreſented as unjuſt, unequal, and arbi-
" trary, and the adminiſtration of them corrupt,
" partial, and ſanguinary. Magiſtrates are ca-
" lumniated and villified, from the moſt exalted
" and venerable, down to thoſe of the moſt or-
" dinary functions. The iron reign of bigotry,
" with its horrid train of intolerance, diſunion,
" and religious rancour, is preached up, and
" fervently inculcated; the moſt ſacred of our
" eſtabliſhments is inſulted and libelled; even
" the fidelity of our brave and ſteady ſoldiery is
" practiſed upon by a miniſter of peace, with a
" boldneſs

"boldneſs altogether without parallel.—The moſt
"abominable doctrines touching revealed religion
"and civil government, levelling all diſtinction,
"order and property, alienating the lower claſſes
"from their rulers, are daily preſented in the moſt
"ſeducing forms to the great body of the people,
"who are too ignorant to foreſee the practical
"miſchiefs reſulting from ſuch principles, and
"from their credulity and numbers are the moſt
"likely to prove the dupes as well as the inſtru-
"ments of them.

"No wonder then if ſuch malignant induſtry
"has produced an abundant crop of crimes: no
"wonder if it conſtantly recruit our priſons, and
"overload our gibbets. If the main pillars of
"the ſtate be thus aſſailed with impunity—if the
"venerable inſtitutions of our country, habitually
"revered from long experience of their excel-
"lence, be traduced and tempted without re-
"ſtraint or diſguiſe—if the people be inſtructed
"to deſpiſe and deny the authority even of their
"legiſlature, no wonder that the laws are become
"a dead letter, and that the civil power hath loſt
"all efficiency and controul. Hence proceed
"thoſe atrocities in the North at which humanity
"ſickens, and to whoſe active and ſweeping pro-
"greſs our mild and merciful code of criminal
"juriſprudence is in vain oppoſed; that alarming
"ferment, which ſo loudly called upon Parlia-
"ment for ſtrong and extraordinary meaſures,
"proportioned to the extreme emergency and
"danger of the times. Among others is the *In-*
"ſurrection Act, which continues in force to the
"end of the next ſeſſion of Parliament; and as it
"is poſſible that in the conflict with treaſon, our
"magiſtracy may be driven to the painful neceſ-
"ſity of reſorting to that ſtatute, it may not be

" amiſs to ſtate thus publicly to you and to them,
" the principal proviſions of it.

" By this act the adminiſtering of any oath im-
" porting to bind the perſon ſwearing it to be of
" any ſeditious aſſociation, or to obey the rules of
" any unlawful committee, or the commands of
" any unlawful leader, or not to give evidence
" againſt any confederate, which before was a
" clergyable felony, is now made felony of death;
" and the taking ſuch oath is ſubjected to tranſ-
" portation for life. This proviſion is general,
" and extends to the whole kingdom. Then come
" certain local clauſes, applicable only to pro-
" claimed diſtricts. Upon the repreſentation of
" ſeven magiſtrates in ſpecial ſeſſion aſſembled, a
" power is given the Lord Lieutenant and Council
" to declare by proclamation any county or diſtrict
" to be in a *ſtate of diſturbance*; and thereupon a
" ſummary juriſdiction over all *idle and diſorderly*
" *perſons* in that diſtrict veſts in the magiſtracy
" analogous to, but very ſhort of the permanent
" powers given over ſuch offenders to a *ſingle*
" juſtice in England. From the earlieſt dawn of
" a police in the ſiſter kingdom, a *ſingle* magiſtrate
" has been authoriſed to commit to hard labour,
" to inflict corporal puniſhment, or to ſend into
" his Majeſty's ſervice, all idle and diſorderly
" perſons, rogues, and vagabonds, according to
" the degree of their delinquency. But the In-
" ſurrection Act commits no power of impriſon-
" ment or of corporal diſcipline to our magiſtracy;
" no leſs than *two* have any juriſdiction, from
" whom an appeal lies to the quarter ſeſſion—and
" in caſe of conviction, the magiſtrates can only
" tranſmit the offender to the navy. And the act
" deſcribes diſtinctly who ſhall be deemed *idle and*
" *diſorderly perſons*—all who take unlawful and

" ſeditious

" ſeditious oaths, and who are already tranſportable
" for life—all who have no viſible means of ſub-
" ſiſtence, and who alſo are already tranſportable—
" all who in the diſturbed diſtricts aſſemble tumul-
" tuouſly in the day, or are found aſſembled in pub-
" lic houſes at unreaſonable hours in the night—all
" who hawk or diſperſe ſeditious papers and ſuch
" like. Such alone, who, in fact, are offenders of
" a much higher order, are the *idle and diſorderly*
" *perſons* upon which this act attaches, and who
" upon conviction, are liable to be impreſſed.
" Thus by a happy proceſs, good is extracted
" from evil—the crimes of individuals are con-
" verted to the benefit of the ſtate; and thoſe
" maleſactors who conſpire the ſubverſion of
" government are compelled to ſerve in its defence.
" Thus then you perceive that the Engliſh au-
" thority and ſtatute-book not only fully warrant,
" but go conſiderably beyond this meaſure. If the
" crown can force the gallant and generous ſailor
" from his fire-ſide and family in war time, with-
" out the formality of trial or pretence of delin-
" quency, into the ſervice of his country—if ſtate
" neceſſity and public policy can juſtify the exer-
" ciſe of an authority ſo harſh and ſummary over
" the moſt valuable claſs of our fellow-ſubjects,
" what claim to milder treatment have men,
" convicted before two magiſtrates, with an ap-
" peal to the quarter-ſeſſions, of a conduct bor-
" dering upon treaſon? Surely if ever a juſt oc-
" caſion aroſe for ſuſpending the trial by jury, it
" is in the caſe of miſcreants who ſyſtematically
" aſſaſſinate witneſſes, jurors, and magiſtrates, for
" their zeal in public ſervice, and thus would
" render that immemorial and ſacred depoſitory
" of our liberties incompetent to the adminiſtra-
" tion of juſtice. It is the public boaſt of theſe

" con-

" conſpirators, that they can murder faſter than
" juries can hang. The laws of civil ſociety are
" framed to reſtrain ſuch offences only, as the
" ordinary ſtate of civil ſociety is expoſed to; and
" not in the vain and ſilly hope of ſtemming
" anarchy and inſurrection, and all the enormi-
" ties incidental to a ſtate of ſmothered rebellion.
" In England, where the principles of true and
" rational freedom are well underſtood and felt,
" the preſent awful times have given birth to
" ſtronger meaſures than the Inſurrection Act—to
" the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, which
" we have ſince adopted, a multiplication of
" treaſons, a conſiderable enlargement of the
" ſummary juriſdiction of the magiſtrates, and a
" very ſtrict regulation of the invaluable right of
" petitioning. Upon the whole, no man can
" lament more ſincerely than myſelf any depar-
" ture from the line of the conſtitution, however
" inevitable its neceſſity, or ſhort its duration; and
" it is in the anxious hope, that this promulga-
" tion of the act may ſave the pain of reſorting to
" it in our country, that I have in this diſcuſſion
" of it ſo long treſpaſſed upon your time.

" Gentlemen, the preſent awful criſis calls for
" the beſt exertions of us all in our ſeveral ſta-
" tions. The High Sheriff, as principal conſer-
" vator of the peace in his bailiwick, is bound to
" watch every ſpark as it riſes, and to extinguiſh
" it before it kindle into a flame. The con-
" ſtitution hath committed to him the cuſtody of
" the county for his year, and with it ample means
" for ſuppreſſing tumult and preſerving the public
" peace. He is authoriſed upon any emergency
" to call out the power of his county, that is,
" every male from ſixteen to ſixty; and they are
" bound to attend him on ſummons, well armed,

" under pain of being fined and impriſoned; to
" alſo, the magiſtrates are armed with adequate
" powers for the like purpoſe, and the county ex-
" pect at this juncture the vigilant and active
" exerciſe of thoſe powers. Let it be their ſpecial
" care, as it is their bounden duty, to diſperſe all
" the unlawful aſſemblies, whether under co-
" lour of funerals or any other pretence, calculated
" by a diſplay of numbers to inſpire the diſaffected
" with confidence, and the well-diſpoſed with
" juſt alarm and diſmay. Let it alſo be their care
" to take up every ſuſpicious ſtranger, ſkulking
" through their juriſdiction, to examine him
" ſtrictly, and upon oath, as to the object and
" motive of his viſit into this county; and if he
" cannot give full ſatisfaction, to commit him till
" he ſhall find ſecurity for his good behaviour.
" Let them remember the munificent proviſion
" which the legiſlature, recording the obligations
" and ſenſibility of a grateful nation, hath beſtow-
" ed upon the families of thoſe virtuous magiſ-
" trates who have periſhed in aſſerting the laws of
" their country; thoſe intrepid martyrs to civil
" liberty, who have been butchered by the bloody
" hands of remorſeleſs traitors.—For myſelf, Gen-
" tlemen, I feel it to be my firſt duty, one to
" which I devote myſelf, and before which every
" other vaniſhes to my view, to co-operate by
" every other means in my power to the tran-
" quillity and good order of our county. Under
" that impreſſion, I give this public notice of my
" determination to hold this court by ſhort ad-
" journments throughout the preſent quarter-ſeſ-
" ſion, becauſe, in my mind, no meaſures can
" be more effectual to controul crimes and crimi-
" nal exceſſes, than ſpeedy juſtice.—With reſpect

" to

" to you, Gentlemen, I have no doubt that as " Grand Jurors you will do your duty as becomes " good ſubjects and honeſt men—faithful to your " king, your country, and yourſelves: Surely if " ever the ſtain ſhall ſink ſo deep as to reach and " tinge our juries, the triumph of treaſon will " then be complete; this indeed would be the " conſummation of all moral as well as civil de- " pravity and deſperation. If the laws, which are " made for our ſecurity, become inoperative " through the corruption of thoſe who are en- " truſted with their execution, all our rights and " liberties, all the ſafeguards of perſons and pro- " perty muſt give way to the diſorganizing ſyſtem " of the day; and our boaſted inſtitution, the " trial by jury, would, inſtead of being (what " it is) our firſt bleſſing, become a curſe. In " the ſoundeſt political, as well as in natu- " ral bodies, there will be found occaſionally " ſome ſour and noxious humours, which feſter " and rankle, and in ſpite of the wiſeſt regimen, " will ſometimes break out into ſerious heats " and diſorders: but the evil, even when moſt " alarming, can never be deemed incurable; the " commonwealth muſt never be deſpaired of, as " long as juries, impreſſed with a religious reve- " rence for their oaths, and a deep ſenſe of the " tranſcendant truſt repoſed in them, purſue un- " tainted the even tenor of their duty; as long as " juries, uncorrupted by wealth or power, unſe- " duced by faction, undiſmayed by ſedition, me- " nace, or danger, acquit themſelves in the face of " God and of their country with courage, inte- " grity, and an inviolable regard to truth.

" But it is not in your official capacity that I am " now moſt anxious to addreſs you: as gentle- " men of conſideration and property in your

" county,

" county, embarked with your families and all
" your deareſt concerns in the ſame veſſel with
" your country, let me conjure you to look be-
" yond the walls of your Grand Jury Room, and
" to ſurvey the awful dangers which ſurround us.
" Never ſurely before this magazine of moral
" plague was opened upon the world, never till
" this ruinous and accurſed trade of politics had
" ſuperſeded every other trade, did any country
" advance with ſuch ſwift career in the race of
" cultivation and proſperity as Ireland. Looking
" into the Grand Jury Box, I cannot forget that
" the conſtitution happily had been communicated
" to every ſect and perſuaſion in our country;
" that religious diſtinctions no longer divided our
" people; and that, as experience ſhall juſtify
" the liberality of Parliament, a perfect political
" equality will bleſs without diſtinction the whole
" community. Commerce, agriculture, and ma-
" nufactures had " burſt their cearments," and
" revived amongſt us; the face of the whole
" Iſland, but of that part moſt of all which now
" heaves with diſcontent, ſmiled with plenty, en-
" creaſing population, and every uſeful and ele-
" gant improvement; even that war, which im-
" poveriſhed and exhauſted Europe, wafted trea-
" ſure to our ſhores, and promoted enterprize
" amongſt our countrymen; and we feel, through
" all the claſſes of our people, the rapid progreſs
" of comfort, independence, and civilization.
" Such hath been the growth of this country
" within the memory of the youngeſt of you;—
" let the incendiary miſrepreſent as he may, ſuch
" could be the offſpring only of wiſe laws and
" of an enlightened legiſlature. " Now look upon
" this picture, and on *this*." Turn your eyes
" to the deſolation which now reigns in Ulſter,

" which approaches our own frontier with haſty
" ſtrides, and may wrap our county in horrors
" unutterable, if not ſpeedily encountered by the
" moſt ſpirited precautions. Mark the accumu-
" lated evils, the pillage, burglaries, burnings,
" and aſſaſſinations, which diſfigure the whole
" face of that fair and once contented province,
" tarniſhing the national character, hitherto ſo
" famed for every humane, generous, and manly
" ſentiment. Whence this frightful change, this
" incredible revolution in the temper of that
" diſtracted province? Is all this laid in the
" character and natural propenſities of Ireland?
" Aſk the ſimple, unadulterated peaſant of the
" ſouth and weſt that queſtion—aſk their inſtan-
" taneous, generous emotion upon the late in-
" vaſion, that inſtinctive impulſe which is the
" voice of nature, and never errs—and you will
" be anſwered with the indignant warmth of
" injured honour, that treaſon is not the character-
" iſtic of an Iriſhman—that treaſon is not a plant
" congenial to the mild and happy temperature
" of Ireland, but a baneful exotic, tranſplanted from
" the burning region of anarchy and regicide.
" Yes, Gentlemen, theſe are the ravages of no
" mean incendiary leagued with France: theſe
" are the bitter fruits of thoſe peſtilential doc-
" trines, which are propagated amongſt us with
" an aſſiduity and zeal beyond all example, in
" daily publications of every ſize; in pamphlets,
" newſpapers, and hand-bills. The fever is kept
" up to delirium, and the infection diffuſed by
" committees and correſponding aſſociations, act-
" ing by theſe cheap inflammatory publications,
" and by ſecret miſſionaries and open profeſſors
" and preachers of their infernal goſpel, affiliated

" after

" after the Jacobin model, now too flagitious and
" anarchical even for the meridian of France.
" Let not theſe criminal labours depreciate
" in our minds the ſolid bleſſings we poſſeſs.
" Let not the fatal love of innovation, let not
" the vile ſuggeſtions of political fanatics, or of
" bankrupt revolution-hunters, perſuade us to
" hazard ſubſtantial comfort in purſuit of viſionary
" perfection above the lot of man. Let us, on the
" contrary, unite in defence of thoſe precious poſſeſ-
" ſions. Let the virtuous and the wiſe, the friends
" of order and rational freedom, of ſettled property
" and government by law, form a compact and de-
" termined counter-union to put down their foes,
" whoſe object is a ſcramble for your property,
" and who have blaſted the riſing hopes and happy
" promiſe of their country. Let us rally round
" that conſtitution, whoſe excellence we trace from
" the practical bleſſings it beſtows, reſolving to
" deliver it and our diſhonoured country from the
" ſacrilegious hands of paricides, or periſh in the
" ruins."

THE END.

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